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THE CHORAGIC MONUMENT OF NICIAS

THE study of the choragic monument of Nicias, of which most of the architectural remains, built into the central portion of the Beulé Gate before the Acropolis at Athens, were uncovered by E. Beulé[1] in 1852, actually begins with the analysis of the remains by Professor Dörpfeld in 1885.[2] Four years later he discovered a foundation for the building,[3] and it then became possible to restore more than the façade alone.[4] Quite recently the monument has been republished by Mr. F. Versakes,[5] with the following conclusions: (1) The foundations identified by Dörpfeld are discarded, and the monument placed somewhere in the precinct of Dionysus; (2) to the members identified by Dörpfeld are added a piece of a Doric column shaft and a capital, also the central block of a tympanum, while, on the other hand, the *poros* triglyphs assigned by Dörpfeld to the monument are rejected and replaced by marble; (3) the choragic inscription of 320/19 is not contemporary with the epistyle on which it is cut, but is a later addition, while the monument itself really dates from the end of the fifth century, and was erected by the general Nicias (Plutarch, *Nicias*, 3). The present article, which is in part composed of notes made at intervals in the past two years with regard to the architectural members, is occasioned by the identification of the foundations of the monument.

I begin with the blocks on which rests the identification of the monument, the epistylia, three of which from the centre

[1] *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, 1853, I, 100–106.

[2] *Ath. Mitt.* X, 1885, pp. 219–230, pl. VII.

[3] *Ath. Mitt.* XIV, 1889, pp. 63–66.

[4] Plan and partial perspective in Jahn-Michaelis, *Arx Athenarum*[3], 1901, tab. XXXII; plan and complete perspective in Luckenbach's *Akropolis von Athen*[2], 1905, pp. 11 and 49.

[5] Τὸ μνημεῖον τοῦ Νικίου, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1909, 221–238.

of the façade bear the dedicatory inscription.[1] Dörpfeld notes six blocks in which the end joints are cut through regulae and so were supported by columns, and seven in which the joint is at one side or the other of a regula, taking advantage of a continuous supporting wall below. We may likewise form two classes, according to the thickness of the epistylia; all those which Dörpfeld placed above open intercolumniations are 0.388 m. thick, and those which were set upon solid walls are

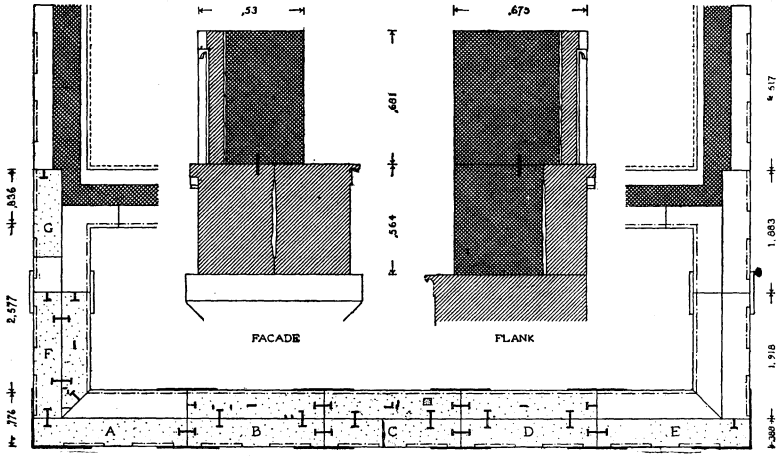

FIGURE 1. — PLAN AND SECTIONS OF EPISTYLE.

0.22 m. to 0.25 m. thick, with the exception of one, which is of the 0.388 m. type. Those which are 0.388 m. thick had marble antithemata, likewise 0.388 m. thick, four of which now remain, built into the topmost course of the Beulé Gate. Those epistylia which are 0.22 m. to 0.25 m. thick were probably made so from motives of economy, and must have been backed by *poros;* they could have been carried only on the walls of the cella, the ceiling of which would conceal the *poros* backing (Fig. 1).

[1] *I.G.* II, 1246:

ΝΙ · ΙΛΣΝΙΛΟΔΗΜΟΥΞΥ · ΕΤΑΙΩΝΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ
ΝΙΚΗΣΑΣΧΟΡΗΓΩΝΑΕΚΡΟΓΙΔΙΓΑΙΔΩΝ
ΓΑΝΤΑΛΕΩΝΣΙΚΥΩΝΙΟ · ΗΥΛΕΙΑΙΣΜΑΕΛΓΗΝΩΡ
ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΥΝΕ · · ΛΜΟΣΗΡΧΕ

Of the six preserved thick epistylia that spanned intercolumniations, Dörpfeld assigned five to the façade (three inscribed blocks, *B*, *C*, *D*, and two angle blocks, *A*, *E*, in Fig. 1) and one to the left flank, immediately adjoining the front corner.[1] The façade would thus seem to have been hexastyle, and this is confirmed by evidence from the geisa, as will be shown. On each flank, instead of the two columns restored by Dörpfeld, the present evidence calls for only one, that at the angle. Because the existing epistyle from the side return of the colonnade (*F*, identified by its having a sixth of a regula at one end,

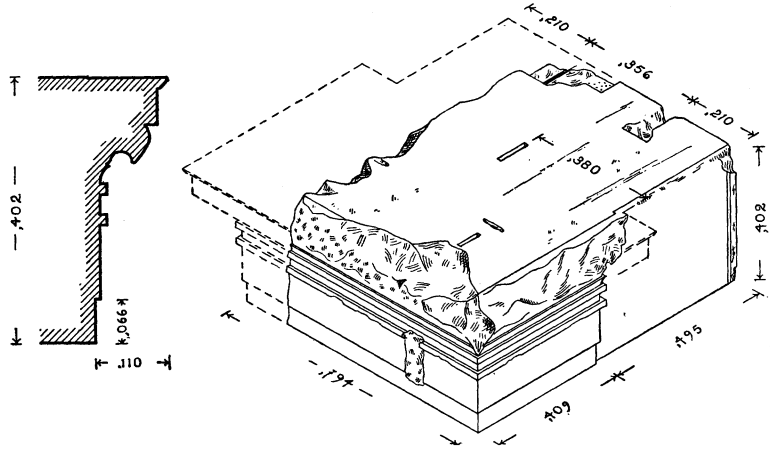

FIGURE 2. — ANTA CAPITAL.

the complement of the five-sixths cut on the end of the angle block) has at the other end a joint under the centre of a triglyph, it was inferred that this end did not rest on an anta, or advantage would have been taken of the opportunity to secure a longer bearing, a full triglyph width. This was the origin of the second open intercolumniation in Dörpfeld's restoration. Just inside the Beulé Gate, however, lies an anta capital, hitherto unidentified, from the Nicias monument (Fig. 2),[2] of a type re-

[1] *Ath. Mitt.* X, 1885, pl. VII; the block last mentioned is there lettered *K*.

[2] One side is chipped away; the other shows the return of the anta, 0.409 m. wide, nearly the 0.423 m. triglyph width given by the regulae of the epistyle of Nicias. Lewis hole, clamps, dowels, and pry cuttings, and the protecting lip at the edge of the vertical joint (a sign of incompletion in the fourth century and later, corresponding to the *werkzoll* over the entire surface in the fifth century)

sembling those of the smaller order of the Propylaea, and exactly like those of the monument of Thrasyllus.[1] The dowel cuttings on the block are exactly right for the epistyle and its antithema, and, moreover, indicate a joint above the centre of the anta; that is, under the centre of a triglyph. In this building the opportunity for a longer bearing above the anta capital was not grasped, and the evidence for the second column on the flanks no longer exists. The single epistyle which, as was noted above, rested on a solid wall, but is shown by its thickness (0.388 m.) to have had a marble antithema, and therefore cannot have been on the cella wall, must be placed on the parastas at one side of the pronaos. In this position it would abut on the first epistyle (*F*) on the flank, if the missing end of the block were restored (*G* in Fig. 1); the preserved end is a metope space, and abutted on a regula at the end of one of the thin epistylia on the cella wall; a shift cutting which was at the middle of the back of this block *G* indicates that it must be restored as the shortest epistyle in the building

$$\left(\frac{T}{2}+M+T+M=1.883 \text{ m. long}\right).$$

The arrangement of the thin epistylia will be considered later.

The four existing epistyle antithemata 0.388 m. wide can be assigned to their original positions, as shown in Figure 1, from the position of the clamps binding them to the epistyle facing. This course must have been continued across the front wall of the cella, but with thin blocks backed by *poros*, as on the side walls of the cella. The two jambs of the present doorway of the Beulé Gate are composed of these blocks, identified by their height (0.564 m., as in the epistylia), and by the fact that along their upper edge was a moulding — now hacked away — which, like that of the epistyle antithemata, was 0.110 m. high; they have ⊢⊣ clamps and lewis holes, as should be expected.[2]

are exactly like those of the epistylia. The width of the block, as it may be restored from the spacing of the lewis and the clamps (Fig. 2), is correct for receiving the soffit of the epistyle of the Nicias monument, 0.776 (2 × 0.388) m. wide.

[1] Stuart and Revett, II, ch. IV, pl. IV.

[2] One end of each has been cut off, so that the present lengths are only 3.79 m.; but, judging from the positions of the lewis and clamp cuttings, the original lengths were probably two intercolumniations, 4.188 m.; though these

To the building of which the epistylia formed a part the geisa now built into the Beulé Gate unquestionably belong, as Dörpfeld has proved.[1] Eight of these geisa are in the gate, and I have seen ten other pieces. Three of these latter are different from all the others in having sloping tops and rafter cuttings (*b* in Fig. 3); upon these, therefore, must have rested a sloping roof.[2] All the others, with flat tops, show by this very contrast that the building was not hip-roofed, but that it had at least one pediment, of which they formed the floor (*a* in Fig. 3). When the Nicias monument was dismantled, the joints between the ordinary geisa of the façade, disregarding the special angle geisa, were numbered Α to Θ from left to

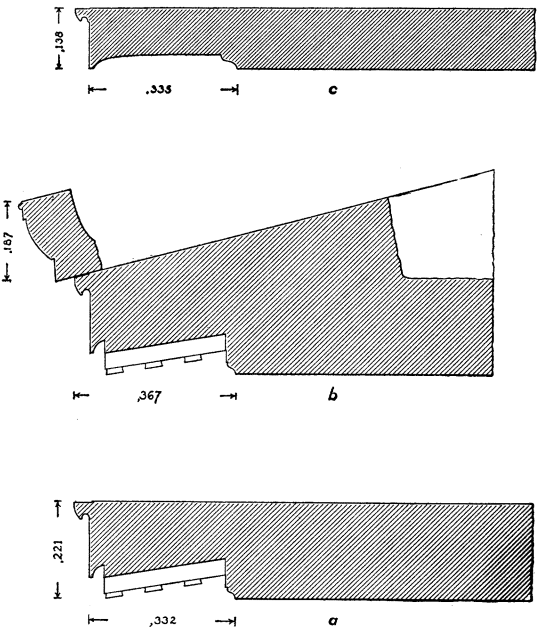

FIGURE 3. — GEISA OF THE MONUMENT OF NICIAS.

blocks are of the thinner variety, on account of their great length, the thickness is slightly increased, to 0.28 m.

[1] Material (Pentelic marble), the finish of exposed surfaces and of anathyroses, the use of the protective lip at the joints, and the clamps and dowels are the same in both; and the dimensions are perfectly in accord, the mutules being equal to the regulae (0.423 m.) and the length of the normal blocks (1.047 m.) just half the intercolumniation given by the epistylia. Beulé alone denied this uniformity (*L'Acropole*, I, p. 101).

[2] The tops of the geisa here follow the slope of the roof, and on them rested tiles of ordinary thickness (compare the temples at Aegina and Bassae); more frequently the tops of the geisa were flat and the roof slope taken up by special eaves tiles, as in the Parthenon, Propylaea, temples at Rhamnus and Sunium, etc.; in the Erechtheum there was a peculiar system by which the angle of the roof slope was divided between the geisa and the eaves tiles.

right as one faced the monument, to enable the unskilled workmen to reset them in their new positions without such blunders as having two mutules or two viae in conjunction.[1] This numbering was done on the tops of the geisa while they were still in position, though, since the letters are cut with bottoms inward, the tympanum must already have been removed. After the geisa were lowered to the ground, they were numbered also on their bottoms, in the same fashion but with smaller letters;[2] thus unnecessary turning of the blocks was avoided. When

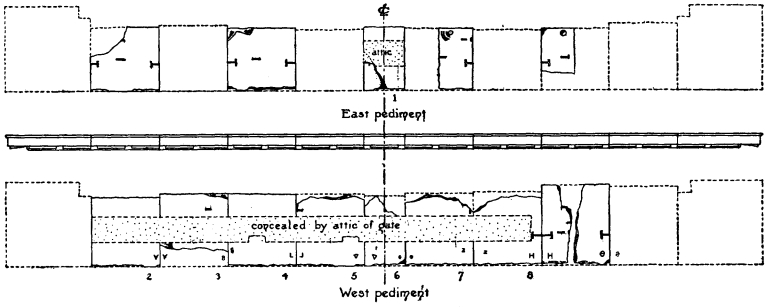

FIGURE 4. — PLAN OF EXISTING GEISA OF PEDIMENT FLOORS.

the geisa had been transported to the gate, it was seen that the space between the towers (7.45 m.) would be almost filled by seven geisa, the arrangement necessarily including the narrow central one, Ε–Δ. So Θ–? and Η–Θ were discarded,[3] and, beginning at the right, Η–Ζ was placed directly against the south tower, and then came Ζ–Ε, Ε–Δ, Δ–Γ, Γ–Β, Β–Α, and Α–?[4] until

[1] For some of these blocks (each normally with two mutules + two viae) have the viae to the left of the mutules, others have them toward the right, while one block (Ε–Δ, Fig. 4), shorter than the others, has a single mutule between two viae. Such a short block should theoretically come in the centre of the façade and form the transition between the geisa with the viae at the left and those with the viae at the right. In the Nicias monument, as in the Propylaea (*A.J.A.* XIV, 1910, p. 147), this block seems to have come actually in the centre, as is shown by the symmetrical arrangement of the dowel holes about it (for the blocks of the tympanum), even as now built into the gate (Fig. 4; the Arabic numerals give the arrangement in the gate).

[2] The breaking of metopes in the gate has revealed Ζ|Ζ and Η.

[3] Η–Θ now lies in halves south of the Nike bastion; one half is shown in Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1909, p. 231, Fig. 11.

[4] That there were only four regular geisa on each side of the central block proves that the façade was hexastyle (Fig. 4).

between the last and the north tower there remained a space of only 0.53 m. Here the builders were economical of labor, and instead of cutting down one of the rejected blocks, they took a second narrow central block, knocked off a front corner by laying on it a block of wood and giving a few strokes with the hammer, and set the remainder in the gap; the result was the conjunction of two *viae*, which it had been the aim of the designer of the gate to avoid by numbering.[1] This second central block, with a mutule between two viae, and a horizontal top, unnumbered, could have been taken only from the opposite end of the building. Both ends of the monument, therefore, had gables; it was not merely backed up against the rock, as had been supposed. To the rear gable must belong all the unnumbered ordinary geisa with flat tops, of which we have, in addition to the two pieces of the central block, four more fragments, two from the left side and two from the right, as shown in the plan, Figure 4. The hawksbeak moulding of this rear gable was peculiarly treated in block form (Fig. 5; the broken lines give the normal profile), as appears in the only two pieces in which the moulding has not been entirely broken off.

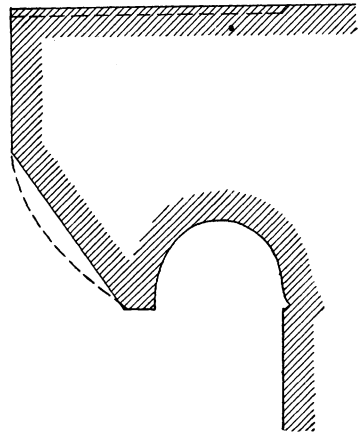

FIGURE 5. — BLOCK MOULDING OF REAR GEISON. FULL SIZE.

Between the lower epistylia and the geisa now built into the Beulé Gate is a triglyph frieze, consisting of *poros* triglyph blocks with marble metope slabs. Beulé supposed that the triglyphs were taken from an archaic *poros* building, which would imply that at the time the Nicias monument was dismantled, archaic triglyphs of exactly the right width were at hand, while those of the Nicias monument were neglected. For the widths of triglyphs and metopes exactly fit the mutules of

[1] The very corner which was thus knocked off now lies inside the Beulé Gate (cf. Fig. 4).

the geisa and the regulae of the epistylia, and Dörpfeld, on the grounds of dimensions, workmanship, and spacing of dowels, assigned the triglyph blocks correctly to the Nicias monument. The reason for the use of *poros* triglyphs was, as he explained,[1] a saving of material in the only portion of the façade which was to be entirely covered with opaque color. In his recent article, Versakes denies that these triglyphs belong to the monument, and returns to the old theory of Beulé that they are archaic.[2] As examples of the triglyphs of the Nicias monument he proposes some poor Roman marble fragments now in the Ascle-

[1] *Ath. Mitt.* X, 1885, pp. 228–229.

[2] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1909, pp. 231–234. His reasons are:

(1) Because the saving of material would be insignificant with only this part of the building of *poros*. But compare, for instance, the *poros* antithemata of the wall epistylia.

(2) Because the *poros* triglyphs are too thick to rest on the epistyle of the Nicias monument (being 0.675 m. from front to back, while the epistyle was 0.776 m.), and leave sufficient room for antithemata of any sort of stone. The triglyphs now in the gate, which Versakes measures, are, however, from the sides of the building (Fig. 1), and those from the façade, of which two lie inside the gate and two toward the Areopagus, were only 0.52 m. to 0.53 m. thick (see Dörpfeld's drawing, *Ath. Mitt.* X, 1885, pl. VII).

(3) Because the *poros* triglyphs are too high in proportion to the epistyle of the Nicias monument. To show that the proportions of the frieze of the Nicias monument are suitable for its date, I append a comparative table of the widths of metopes and heights of friezes, both in terms of the epistyle heights, showing also the development of the metope rectangle.

	Metope Width	Frieze Height
Corinth, Apollo	0.812–0.819 m.	———
Aegina	0.895–0.952 m.	0.976 m.
Olympia, Zeus	0.871 m.	0.977 m.
Sunium	0.887 m.	0.989 m.
Theseum	0.926 m.	0.988 m.
Parthenon	0.942 m.	0.998 m.
Propylaea (Athens)	0.964 m.	1.016 m.
Bassae	0.973 m.	1.015 m.
Rhamnus	1.000 m.	1.000 m.
Tegea	1.056 m.	1.036 m.
Epidaurus, Asclepius	1.128 m.	1.123 m.
Epidaurus, Tholos	1.086 m.	1.208 m.
Nicias monument	1.107 m.	1.204 m.
Nemea	1.107 m.	1.123 m.

pieum and the theatre,[1] due, in his opinion, to a late restoration of the monument. These triglyphs were nearly of the right width;[2] the corresponding geisa, however, give the metope width as 0.60 m., instead of the 0.624 m. of the Nicias monument. To show that the *poros* triglyphs must be associated with the marble epistylia and geisa, I need only emphasize Dörpfeld's points: the technique is identical, including the use of the thin lewis hole, which is unknown in early *poros* architecture and is derived from work in marble; the dimensions and proportions agree; the dowels on the tops of the triglyphs are for geisa which normally have two mutules cut on a single block;[3] and the dowel and pry holes on the tops of the epistylia are for triglyph blocks which have joints behind the centres of the metopes, an impossible condition unless the metopes were loose marble slabs, as in this case. Some of the marble metopes were inserted in the frieze of the gate; others were used as material for the rebuilding of the towers of the gate; and fragments lie scattered along the south slope of the Acropolis.

On the tops of the geisa of the pediment floors appear dowel and pry holes for tympanum blocks and their antithemata (Fig. 4). In the antithemata there was no central block, but a joint exactly in the centre;[4] and geison Θ–Η shows that above it the joints of tympanum facing slabs and of antithemata practically coincided. It seemed at first probable, therefore, that this coincidence occurred throughout, as in the Erechtheum. Probing in the joints of the attic of the gate, however, disclosed what appears to be a dowel cutting for the tympanum face, and therefore a joint, about 0.83 m. from the original centre of the façade. Because the central slab was laid first,[5] this dowel must be included in the length of the

[1] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1909, p. 231, Fig. 11 *a*. Restored with a height 0.64 m. to suit the taste of the *fifth* century.

[2] Now broken into fragments, but restored as 0.42 m. wide.

[3] Except on one triglyph which was prepared for the narrow geison in the centre of the façade; this triglyph now lies below the gate toward the Areopagus.

[4] Note the central pry-hole on geison Ε–Δ, and dowel and pry holes in Ζ–Ε and Δ–Γ for the outer ends of blocks which abutted on each other in the middle of the façade.

[5] This is shown by the fact that all the tympanum blocks were pried and dowelled at their ends farther from the centre of the façade; the joint lines are

central slab, which was therefore approximately $2 \times 0.83 = 1.66$ m. long.

With this favorable evidence, we may accept the identification by Versakes[1] of a central tympanum slab 1.637 m. long, now lying near the precinct of Dionysus,[2] as from the monument of Nicias. Its workmanship and details of fastenings agree perfectly with those of the other members. With this must be associated another slab from the tympanum, now lying below the Beulé Gate; a difference of 4 mm. in the height at the first joint at the right of the centre shows that it did not abut

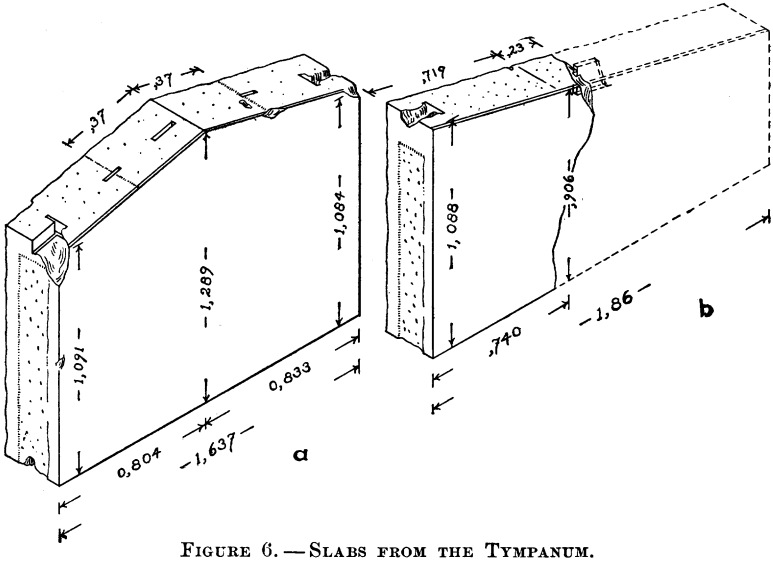

FIGURE 6. — SLABS FROM THE TYMPANUM.

on the extant central slab, so that it must belong to the other pediment of the same building (Fig. 6).[3] In both of these slabs the slopes are 1 in 4.065, slightly steeper than in the Parthenon (1:4.138) or the Propylaea (1:4.167). This agrees

therefore always at the outer ends of the dowel holes, toward the pry cuttings (Fig. 4).

[1] 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1909, p. 223, Fig. 7.

[2] Found near the east end of the stoa of Eumenes.

[3] This second slab (Fig. 6 *b*) is now only 0.92 m. long, but if we restore its length by assuming that the lewis hole was approximately at its centre, it will fill the 1.84 m. remaining between the central slab and the joint indicated on geison Θ–H. The elevation of the tympanum jointing is shown in Figure 10.

with the slope of the tops of the flank geisa, as well as they can be measured. The height of the central slab is 1.289 m.; at the given slope, the base of the tympanum would then be 10.480 m.; the width of the façade across the epistyle was 10.894 m., and along the crowning moulding of the horizontal geison, 11.634 m., so that at either end of the tympanum there remained 0.577 m. of the horizontal geison to receive the bevelled ends of the raking geisa.

If 0.577 m. be the length of the bed of the raking geison on the horizontal geison, the height of the raking geison, the given slope being 1 in 4.065, will be 0.138 m. A fragment of raking geison on the south slope of the Acropolis (for knowledge of which I am indebted to Mr. G. P. Stevens, who suggested that it might belong to the monument of Nicias) has exactly this height, 0.138 m. (see Fig. 3 *c*); and the projection of its face beyond the bottom of the bed moulding (0.335 m.) associates it with the Nicias geisa (projection 0.332 m.). The total projection, including the crowning moulding, was evidently the same in both cases, 0.367 m.; for the hawksbeak of the raking geison, now partially broken away, was slightly smaller than that of the horizontal geison (0.033 m. instead of 0.040 m. high). The most remarkable feature of this raking geison is its disproportionate thinness, its height being only about five-eighths of that of the horizontal geison. It is unknown whether the lower end blocks of the raking geisa were cut to a feather edge, or had the extreme end cut on the horizontal geison, or were combined with the sima and acroterion base, as in the Propylaea. At the apex of the pediment the geison was cut as a saddle, the dimensions of which are given by a bed cutting on the central tympanum slab (Fig. 6). The tympanum slabs likewise give the length of a typical raking geison as 1.19 m.

Of the sima of the Nicias monument nothing has as yet been identified. It is probable, however, that we may assign to the building a small piece of Greek eaves sima, found near the stoa of Eumenes (Fig. 3 *b*). It is an imitation of the Periclean profile, similar to, but much later than, the sima of the temple of Athena Nike. Its bed is designed for flank geisa with sloping tops. And if we compare the cornice of this monument with that of its prototype, the central building of the Propylaea,

which had the geison (to top of hawksbeak) 0.393 m. high and sima 0.331 m. high, we find that in the monument of Nicias, with a geison 0.221 m. high, the sima should be 0.186 m., and ours is 0.187 m.

A fragment of an acroterion base from the apex of a pediment, now lying inside the Beulé Gate, seems from its scale and workmanship, and because it has a joint at the apex above a saddle-shaped geison block, to belong to the Nicias monument.[1] As restored from this block, the acroterion base would be only 0.880 m. wide, too small for a choragic tripod; and it carries

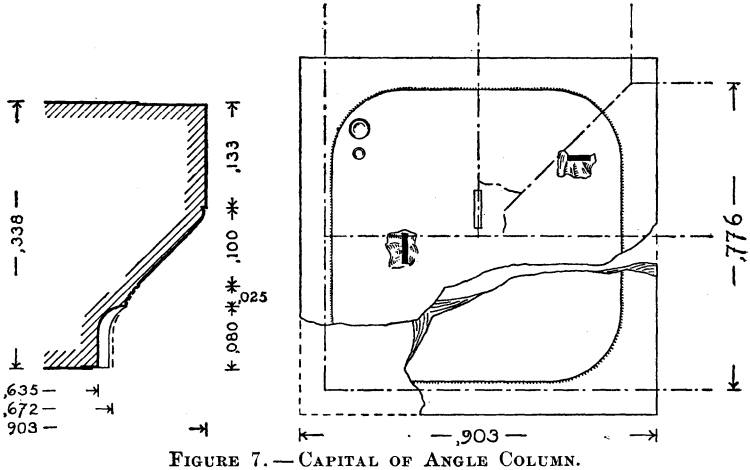

FIGURE 7. — CAPITAL OF ANGLE COLUMN.

no traces of any attachments. The choragic tripod, about 2 m. high, would be too unwieldy to crown a pediment of such small scale, and was almost certainly placed in the cella.

The most important addition of material made by Versakes is a Doric capital now east of the Parthenon, together with the lower drum of a shaft now in the theatre. The two agree with each other in technique and scale, and are of the right scale for the Nicias monument, though it is strange that one of the capitals should have been transported to the top of the Acropolis. A capital exactly like that identified by Versakes is shown by Stuart and Revett,[2] who saw it in a ruined church in the Turk-

[1] The slope of its bed, practically 1 in 4 as nearly as can be measured, is slightly steeper than usual and would well fit the monument.

[2] Vol. IV, ch. V, pl. VIII, 6.

ish cemetery below the west end of the Acropolis, a region full of remains of the monument of Nicias. I measure the lower diameter of the column as 0.844 m. (twice the triglyph width), and the upper diameter (on the capital) as 0.672 m., four-fifths of the lower. The height of the capital (0.338 m.) is the same as that of the anta capital (0.336 m.). The technique appears to be that of the fourth century: both capital and drum have lewis holes, and both were fastened to the other drums by small *round* dowels 0.05 m. in diameter and 0.09 m. high (0.045 m. in each stone); the top of the abacus has a square relieving surface with rounded corners. The capital is shown in photograph and profile by Versakes.[1] For the sake of completeness I add a plan of the abacus (Fig. 7), showing how it will fit the epistyle; it is an angle capital, and its dowels show that it supported an epistyle in two beams, jointed at the angle in a manner that coincides with the evidence from the epistylia themselves (Fig. 1).

The height of the columns cannot be obtained with accuracy, though the error can be reduced to a minimum. From a comparative table of the ratios of intercolumniation to height of column and entablature together, and of the entablature to the column height,[2] it appears that the height of the order should be more than three intercolumniations (6.282 m.), but considerably less than what the Nemean ratio would give (7.161 m.). Subtracting the entablature (1.464 m.), the columns should be between 4.818 and 5.697 m. in height, on an average 5.25 m. The ratio between entablature and column heights should

[1] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1909, p. 232 (Fig. 12), p. 236 (Fig. 15).

[2]

	INTERCOL. : ORDER	ENTAB. : COLUMN
Aegina	1 : 2.85	1 : 2.62
Olympia, Zeus	1 : 2.79	1 : 2.55
Theseum	1 : 2.94	1 : 2.86
Parthenon	1 : 3.19	1 : 2.43
Bassae	1 : 2.85	1 : 2.97
Propylaea : east hexastyle	1 : 3.11	1 : 3.15
west hexastyle	1 : 3.18	1 : 3.24
west wings	1 : 3.10	1 : 3.05
Nemea	1 : 3.42	1 : 4.17

be greater than any in the Propylaea; 1:3.64, an average between the Propylaea and Nemea, would give 5.27 m. The anta capital gives the regular height of courses as 0.402 m.; the orthostates were probably, as usual, a little more than twice as high, or about 0.90 m. These orthostates and eleven ordinary courses would make up a height of 5.32 m., which we may definitely assume as the height of the columns. It is interesting to note that, if we subtract the height of the capital (0.338 m.) from this, the height of the shaft proper (*ca.* 4.98 m.) is exactly three times the height of the lowest drum identified by Versakes.[1]

As for the site of the choragic monument of Nicias, the earliest and most obvious suggestion was that it was on the Street of the Tripods, or near the temple of Dionysus.[2] Dörpfeld at first suggested[3] the spot just below the Nike bastion, which Lolling afterward identified as the heroum of Aegeus;[4] Dörpfeld's final opinion was that the lofty breccia foundations of some structure which was demolished to make way for the odeum of Herodes Atticus (immediately after 160 A.D.), and some portions of which remain just north of the odeum, had formerly supported the monument.[5] This has been universally accepted, although there has been an undercurrent of suggestion that the monument of Nicias should be identified with that of the elder Nicias, which Plutarch saw down near the theatre — a suggestion which has always been rejected even by those who proposed it, Dörpfeld, Reisch, and Furtwängler.[6] Furtwängler's abandoned proposal was adopted and affirmed by Versakes;[7] and for many reasons this suggestion seemed to me to

[1] The top is now broken away ('Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1909, p. 227, Fig. 9); but from the bed to the bottom of a dowel hole at the present top is 1.60 m., and the dowel hole was 0.05 m. deep, so that we may restore the original height as 1.65 m. (see Fig. 10).

[2] Beulé, *L'Acropole*, 1853, I, p. 103; Rangabé, *Ant. hellén.* II, 1855, p. 705.

[3] *Ath. Mitt.* X, 1885, pp. 225–226.

[4] *Ath. Mitt.* XI, 1886, pp. 322–323; XIV, 1889, p. 63.

[5] *Ath. Mitt.* XIV, 1889, pp. 63–66.

[6] Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.* X, 1885, p. 226; Reisch, *Griech. Weihgeschenke*, 1890, p. 100, note 2; Furtwängler, *Sitzungsb. d. k. b. Akad. München*, 1901, p. 414, note 1, but with acceptance of Dörpfeld's theory, p. 415, note 2.

[7] 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1909, p. 237.

have elements of probability, especially when it appeared that an unidentified foundation suited perfectly, in date, dimensions, and position. At the time of writing his article, Versakes had not yet determined the foundations. He saw that there were difficulties connected with the site proposed by Dörpfeld, and that a site near the theatre was more probable, especially because here lay some of the larger fragments (column shaft and central tympanum slab) which he ascribed to the monument. Versakes has since, and independently, come to the conclusion that the foundation herein described is that of the monument of Nicias. Professor Dörpfeld's identification of the foundations which he thought were those of this monument rested on their material (breccia as in buildings of the fourth century and later) and their plan: the latter would give a building with a façade (*Fassadenbau*), without a rear wall, backed up against the rock, such as was the contemporary monument of Thrasyllus.[1] Apart from material and plan, there is, however, in the foundations themselves no evidence in favor of the identification; they give neither the width nor the length of the building, and the thickness of the walls (1.35 m.), advanced as evidence[2] that they bore columns and steps, is insufficient,[3] and is probably due merely to the great weight of the foundations themselves. At their present level (probably almost the ancient level) these foundations require the omission of the rear wall; and there seems to be no possibility of a rear wall on the top of the rock behind, even if the foundations could be raised to the abnormal height then required;[4] whereas the architectural fragments (geisa and tympana) show that the Nicias monument was a free-standing building, with both ends exposed. The site, so far west of the

[1] Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.* XIV, 1889, p. 64. Rear walls are restored, however, by Jahn-Michaelis, *Arx Athenarum*[3], 1901, Tab. VII; Luckenbach, *Akropolis von Athen*[2], 1905, p. 11; and Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 1905, plan II.

[2] *Ath. Mitt.* XIV, 1889, p. 65.

[3] The similar foundations of the second temple of Dionysus Eleuthereus are 1.45 m. thick for the walls, and 1.90 m. thick for the portico (Dörpfeld-Reisch, *Griech. Theater*, p. 20).

[4] The wing walls (cf. Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1909, p. 226, Fig. 8) afford no argument one way or another, as they would no more be an integral part of the building than the wing walls of the greater Propylaea at Eleusis (*Antiq. of Attica*, ch, II, pls. 1 and 2).

theatre, would be unique for a choragic monument;[1] and this would require two separate Nicias monuments, that of 320/19 and that of the general Nicias (before 415), which is improbable, as will be shown. This site, too, would require the date 160 A.D. for the destruction of the monument and the building of the Beulé Gate, which again seems improbable.

The plan of the superstructure of the Nicias monument would seem to require foundations of the T-shape that appears in other prostyle buildings of the fourth century and the end of the fifth, such as the second temple of Dionysus Eleuthereus at Athens, the temples of Despoina at Lycosura and of the Cabiri in Samothrace, and the third temple of Athena Pronaia at Delphi. For it is probable that the steps of the façade would be carried around the sides of the building only as far as the open intercolumniation extended, and would then return against the side walls, their lines being continued as a socle of slight projection. The width of such a foundation should be, on the façade, the length of the five epistylia, 10.893 m., and, in addition, the projections of the columns and steps.

South of the east end of the stoa of Eumenes are the foundations of a building, hitherto unidentified.[2] At the east, one to three courses of breccia remained above ground, and above these one course of Acropolis rock was finished as if intended to be visible; at the north this wall turns westward, forming the north wall, the top of which had been laid bare for 10 m.; the southeast corner was broken away, but a long stretch of the south face of the south wall had been excavated to a depth of one to two courses. The date of the foundation is clearly earlier than that of the stoa of Eumenes; for it is at a much lower level, and it is evident that the stoa was built with

[1] The fragment of the dedication of Chares, of 344/3 (*I.G.* II, 1240), used as a well cover N.E. of Dörpfeld's foundation (shown on Middleton's plan, *J.H.S. suppl.* III, pl. 18, No. 37), had evidently been transported from a distance; Miss Bieber's suggestion (*Ath. Mitt.* XXXV, 1910, p. 15), that a foundation west of the Asclepieum (No. 29 on Middleton's plan, *l.c.*) supported a choragic monument, is impossible.

[2] Köhler supposed that it might be a temple, *Ath. Mitt.* III, 1878, p. 153; but the façade was toward the west. It appears on the plans of Mitsakes, Πρακτικά, 1878, pl.; Loviot, *B.C.H.* II, 1878, pl. XXIII (entirely wrong); Ziller, *Ath. Mitt.* III, 1878, pl. VII (the best); Middleton, *J.H.S. suppl.* III, No. XXIII; and Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, plan II.

regard to it. On the other hand, the use of breccia in the foundations would seem to make it not earlier than the fourth century, or at most the end of the fifth, so that its date would be suitable for Nicias (320/19 B.C.). The width of the building, from outside to outside of the foundations, is 11.79 m.; but the west end of the south wall projects southward 0.71 m. for a length of 4.10 m., giving, if we make the north side symmetrical, the desirable T-shaped plan, with a façade width of 13.21 m. Though no traces of the west façade were visible, it seemed that the westernmost stone of the south-

FIGURE 8. — FOUNDATIONS OF THE MONUMENT OF NICIAS.

west corner; for while all the other blocks are about 0.70 × 1.40 m. in plan, laid regularly as headers and stretchers, this block is 1.00 × 1.40 m., and though it had been thrown slightly out of place by earthquakes (Fig. 8, in centre), it was clear that its end was exactly above the west end of the course below, as if the wall continued no farther. The length of this projecting ear is just that required for the single intercolumniation on the flank of the monument, and the total length, 16.68 m., is such as to give exactly six epistylia of the arrangement required on the flank of the monument (in addition to the short

returns of those on the ends), and allow the same excess of foundation at the ends of the building as we should have on its sides.[1]

Moreover, the architectural remains of the monument of Nicias that were not found at the Beulé Gate lie scattered about this foundation: the column shaft, the central tympanum block (which was found much nearer the foundation than its present position), two horizontal geisa, etc.

The identification of the site was certain even before excavations began.[2] Trial trenches were made on April 15 and 16, and work at intervals between April 29 and May 25, 1910, completely cleared the foundations. The southwest corner appeared in perfect condition, with three courses of breccia ending one above another, set in a trench cut in the bed rock, so that the wall could never have gone farther. Another small

[1] Width of façade: foundations . . . . 13.21 m.
epistyle . . . . 10.893 m.
excess . . . . 2.32 m.
excess each side . . . . 1.16 m.

Width of body: foundations . . . . 11.79 m.
epistyle . . . . 10.893 m.
excess . . . . 0.90 m.
excess each side . . . . 0.45 m.

Composition of flank epistyle:
(1) return from front, $\frac{5}{6}$ T . . . . 0.388 m.
(2) $\frac{1}{6}$ $T+M+T+M+\frac{1}{2}$ T (stone F.) . . 1.918 m.
(3) $\frac{1}{2}$ $T+M+T+M$ (stone G.) . . . 1.883 m.
(4) $T+M+T+M+T$ . . . . 2.517 m.
(5) $M+T+M+T+M$ . . . . 2.718 m.
narrow epistylia
(6) $T+M+T+M+T$ . . . . 2.517 m.
(7) $M+T+M+T+M$ . . . . 2.718 m.
(8) return from rear, T . . . . 0.423 m.
total length of flank . . . 15.082 m.

Length of flank: foundations . . . . 16.68 m.
epistyle . . . . 15.082 m.
excess . . . . 1.60 m.
excess on front (= sides of façade) 1.16 m.
excess at rear (= sides of body) 0.46 m.

[2] Permission to excavate the monument was obtained from Mr. Panagiotopoulos, Minister of Public Instruction, through the kindness of Mr. Byzantinos. The prosecution of the work, which was carried on at the expense of the American School of Classical Studies, was greatly facilitated by Mr. Skias.

pit uncovered the northwest angle; only the single angle stone here remained, and further cleaning revealed only the rock-hewn beds for the walls. The excavations yielded one new fact of importance for the plan, the position of the cross wall. The present state of the foundations appears in Figure 9; where actual walls remained, the depth of earth removed was only 10 to 20 cm. Lying on the cross wall were a piece of the

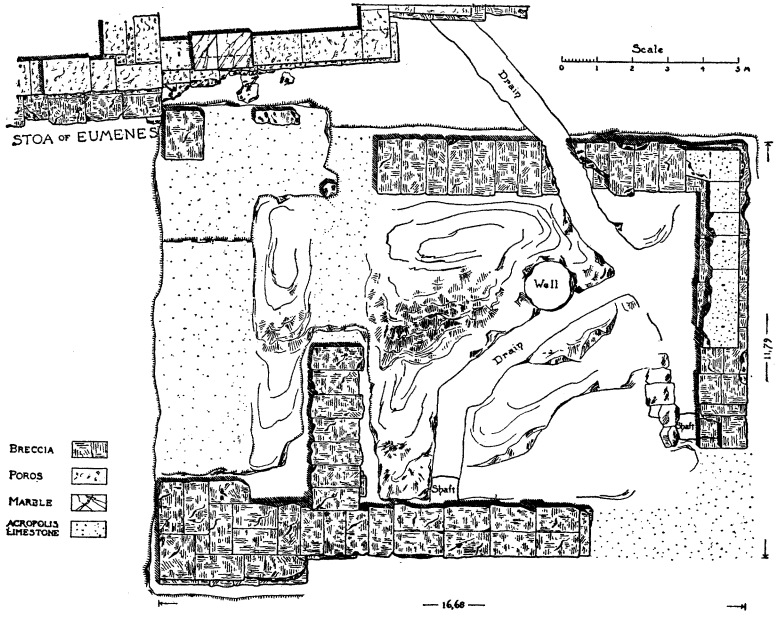

FIGURE 9. — PLAN OF FOUNDATIONS, PRESENT STATE.

hawksbeak moulding from the epistyle antithema of the west portico of the Nicias monument, and another piece which crowned the horizontal geison of the west façade. The fragments of pottery were non-committal, except that the few which were in the earth used as filling when the foundations were laid gave a date at any rate no earlier than the fifth century B.C.

The restoration of the plan of the building is shown in Figure 11, in combination with the east end of the stoa of Eumenes. The only uncertain elements are the thickness of the cella walls and the size of the doorway. The position of the foundations of the cross wall is such as to indicate that the inner face of the

wall was aligned with the end of epistyle *G* (Fig. 1); and if the wall is centred on its foundation, its thickness will be as shown in Figure 1, 0.836 m., slightly greater than that of the parastades.

The history of the monument of Nicias was apparently as follows: Nicias, the Athenian general, the son of Niceratus, and his brothers, Eucrates and Diognetus, dedicated before 415 B.C., as the results of their choragic victories, a series of tripods near the temple of Dionysus Eleuthereus, as we are told by their contemporary Plato.[1] These are the tripods mentioned by Plutarch,[2] who explains their number by the fact that Nicias won many victories. Plutarch adds, however, what Plato does not mention, that lying below (or near or beyond) this row of tripods[3] was a choragic *νεώς*, also dedicated by Nicias.[4] The silence of Plato, the contemporary of Nicias the son of Niceratus, seems significant, and such a monument, if erected by the elder Nicias before 415 B.C., would stand isolated, preceding by a century all others of its type.[5]

[1] Plato, *Gorgias*, 472 A:

Νικίας ὁ Νικηράτου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὧν οἱ τρίποδες οἱ ἐφεξῆς ἑστῶτές εἰσιν ἐν τῷ Διονυσίῳ.

[2] Plutarch, *Nicias*, 3:

εἱστήκει δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων αὐτοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς τό τε Παλλάδιον ἐν ἀκροπόλει, τὴν χρύσωσιν ἀποβεβληκός, καὶ ὁ τοῖς χορηγικοῖς τρίποσιν ὑποκείμενος ἐν Διονύσου νεώς· ἐνίκησε γὰρ πολλάκις χορηγήσας, ἐλείφθη δ' οὐδέποτε.

[3] *ὑποκείμενος* could hardly in this case mean lying directly below the tripods in the sense that they were upon its roof, as in the old interpretations; Stuart and Revett, I, p. 30; cf. Dörpfeld, *Griech. Theater*, p. 22. Reisch (*Griech. Weihgeschenke*, p. 100) prefers to translate it "designed for" the tripods, which seems rather forced.

[4] Against the identification of this *νεώς* with the second cult temple of Dionysus Eleuthereus (Reisch, *Griech. Weihgeschenke*, p. 100; retracted by him, *Eranos Vindobonensis*, 1893, p. 2; but supported by Dörpfeld, *Griech. Theater*, 1896, p. 22) the objections of Furtwängler (*Sitzungsb. d. k. b. Akad. München*, 1901, p. 414) still hold good. (1) Just as the Παλλάδιον of Nicias was one of many on the Acropolis, so the *νεώς* of Nicias was one of many in the precinct of Dionysus, and that it was a choragic monument is shown by Plutarch's *ἐνίκησε γὰρ* κτλ. (2) If Plutarch had intended to refer to the temple of Dionysus, he would have said *ὁ νεὼς τοῦ Διονύσου* and not *ὁ ἐν Διονύσου νεώς*. (3) The cult temple seems too important to be the dedication of a private individual at this early period.

[5] It would have been erected at a time when the accepted form of choragic monument was the low-stepped base, on which was set the tripod (Reisch,

It seems easier to believe that it was the younger Nicias, the son of Nicodemus, who erected the choragic νεώς near the tripods as the result of his victory of 320/19 B.C., and that Plutarch, seeing the tripods of Nicias I and the monument of

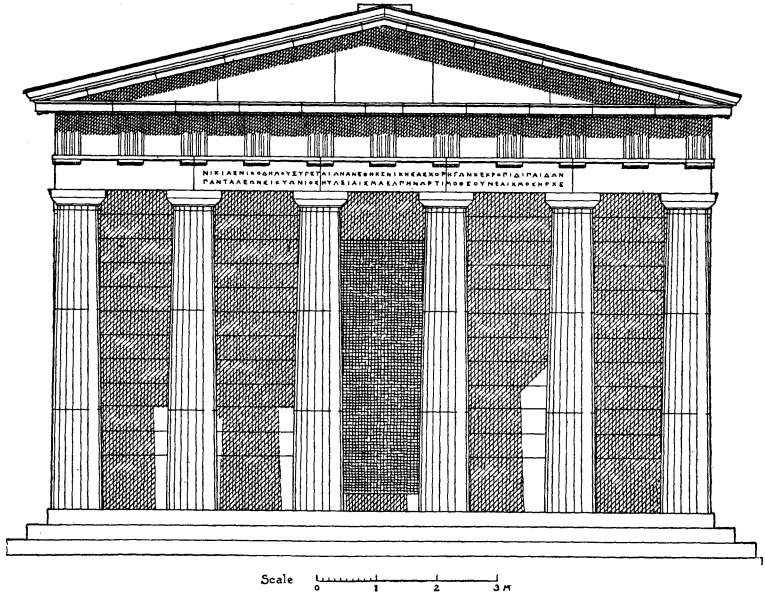

FIGURE 10.—MONUMENT OF NICIAS; WEST FAÇADE, RESTORED.

Nicias II side by side, assumed that all were the offerings of one man, probably without stopping to read inscriptions.[1]

At any rate, ἐν Διονύσου[2] lie the foundations of the monument of the younger Nicias, erected immediately after 320/19 B.C.,[3] with its back to the theatre and facing probably on an

Griech. Weihgeschenke, p. 68, Figs. 1–2, pp. 87–88). It is noticeable that the choragic dedication of Aristocrates, mentioned in the same sentence with the tripods of Nicias (*Gorgias*, 472 A) was of similar character, but with a round podium, such as was usual in monuments in the Pythium. This podium has been found (*I.G.* I, 422; cf. Reisch, *l.c.* pp. 81–83).

[1] Plato, it will be remembered, mentions also the brothers of the general Nicias as dedicators of the tripods, and these surely bore inscriptions to that effect.

[2] Actually backed against the wall of the Dionysium.

[3] It is the opinion of Mr. Versakes, that the monument must be dated a century earlier, because (1) its technique is better and earlier than certain late stones in the Asclepieum (which he dates too early); (2) Hymettus marble,

open area bounded on the north by an old polygonal wall dating probably from the time of Pisistratus.[1] At the back of the monument seems to have been a breccia terrace wall (*B–B*, two stones only are now visible), probably of the date of the theatre and earlier than the monument. This wall *B–B* seems to have abutted on the old wall *A–A* on the north, and these may be the supporting walls of a winding ascent which met the upper road passing through the diazoma of the theatre.

To replace the old polygonal terrace wall Eumenes II (197–159 B.C.) built west of the theatre a great stoa, 163 m. long. The Nicias monument determined its position; the outer foundation line of the east end wall of the open portico is only 2 cm. from the foundation of the monument, and enclosing the northwest corner of the monument are the walls of the annex that contained the staircase leading to the second story of the stoa. The use of a solid wall where the stoa is obstructed by the Nicias monument is paralleled by the stoa behind the theatre[2] and by the stoa of Asclepius. Eumenes built on a higher level than the monument of Nicias; but steps of Hymettus marble, the lowest of which is still in place (Fig. 9), gave direct access from the pronaos of the monument to the stair-hall of the stoa.[3]

proper for the fourth century and used by Lysicrates and Thrasyllus, does not appear here (the evidence is not forthcoming); (3) the profile of the capital is earlier than that of the late capital in the Asclepieum, which Versakes believes, however, to be an exact copy of an original of the beginning of the fourth century; (4) Plutarch ascribes a choragic monument in this position to the elder Nicias (which I believe to be a mistake on Plutarch's part). This form of choragic monument would be unique if of the last quarter of the fifth century, as I have noted above (p. 478, note 5); and it suits the increase in ostentation and display of private wealth by the choregi after the impulse given by the completion of the theatre by Lycurgus about 340 B.C. As a development of his theory, Versakes believes that the inscription on the epistyle must be interpreted as a later addition, on the analogy of *I.G.* III, 68 *b* (p. 482); and Νικίας Νικοδήμου Ξυπεταιών is made a descendant of Νικίας Νικηράτου Κυδαντίδης, on the analogy of Thrasyllus and Thrasycles (a manifest impossibility; cf. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, 10808 and 10816).

[1] Shown on Figure 11, *A-A*. Other stones of this wall, not quite in their original places, have been re-used in foundations in the stair-hall of the stoa of Eumenes.

[2] Dörpfeld, *Griech. Theater*, pl. II.

[3] These five steps led down to a level 1.275 m. below the stylobate of the stoa of Eumenes; this lower level was probably that of the stylobate of the monument of Nicias. The top of the course of Acropolis rock, now the uppermost

East of the stair-hall the polygonal terrace wall was replaced by one of ashlar (*C*), parallel to the Nicias monument and protecting its north flank; this was carried eastward as far as wall

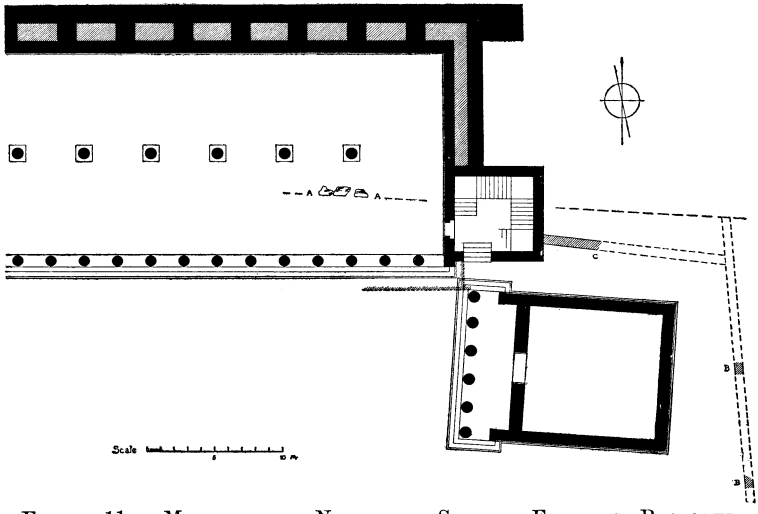

FIGURE 11. — MONUMENT OF NICIAS AND STOA OF EUMENES, RESTORED.

B–B. The former approach above walls *B–B* and *A–A* was now disused; the stoa of Eumenes made it impassable.

We have no direct evidence for the date of the destruction of the Nicias monument. Dörpfeld dated it 161 A.D., because he regarded the foundation partly on the site of the odeum of Herodes Atticus as the foundation of the monument of Nicias; but the construction (or reconstruction) of the Beulé Gate, an immediate result of the destruction of the monument, seems of too careless and ignorant workmanship to be contempo-

part of the foundation of Nicias, is 0.955 m. lower still; it did not support the marble steps directly, but probably a *poros* euthynteria, for it shows pry-holes, but no dowels. Supposing the three steps of the monument of Nicias to be 0.75 m. high, which would suit the proportions, a euthynteria 0.205 m. high would just bring the stylobate up to the level of the bottom of the steps from the stoa of Eumenes. A filling of earth and a pavement probably now connected the bottom of the flight of steps and the stylobate of Nicias. How the change of ground level here was managed is unknown; the suggestion of a slight retaining wall (Fig. 11) is derived from an analogous case at the south end of the stoa of Attalus (Πρακτικά, 1899, pl. II; Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, p. 316).

rary with the odeum of Herodes Atticus, the Telesterion, and the greater propylaea at Eleusis, etc. And we may, perhaps, arrive at a more satisfactory conclusion from the probability that the close connection of the monument with the stoa of Eumenes may have led to a common fate. A trench for a late drain, cut in bed rock, destroyed part of the foundations of both the stair-hall and the monument. Columns of the stoa were found built into reënforcements of the city wall farther south, repairs supposed to be of late Roman or even mediaeval times.[1] But other portions of the stoa of Eumenes — namely, the geisa of the second story — were used by Phaedrus for his reconstruction of the stage of the theatre of Dionysus.[2] The date of Phaedrus, son of Zoilus, is difficult to determine; from the inscription cut on one of these very geisa (*I.G.* III, 239), he is usually assumed to have been archon, and is dated at about the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century A.D.;[3] he is evidently the same as Phaedrus, the son of Zoilus, of Paeania, named on a sun-dial in the British Museum.[4] The new geisa which Phaedrus caused to be made for the front of the stage seem contemporary in workmanship with those which were made to piece out some earlier geisa which, upside down, decorated

[1] Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.* XVII, 1892, pp. 450 f.

[2] These geisa are assigned by Versakes (*Jb. Arch. I.* XXIV, 1909, pp. 204 f.) to a hypothetical proscenium of Nero, of which they form the only evidence. They are of a peculiar dull gray, fine-grained marble which is used for interior columns and for those in the second story of the façade of the stoa of Eumenes. In form the geisa are almost exactly like the peculiar geisa of the stoa of Attalus (Adler, *Stoa des Attalus*, pl. 6; Bohn, *Stoa Königs Attalos*, II, pl. 2) — low geisa suited to the smaller order of the second story, but with a disproportionately great overhang to crown the whole height of the façade; the mutules without guttae, and the clamps, dowels, and workmanship resemble those of the stoa of Attalus. The spacing of the mutules averages 0.613 m., which is exactly a quarter of the intercolumniations of the stoa of Eumenes (2.451 m.), and has nothing in common with any triglyph spacing of the theatre. These geisa are unlike those of the stoa of Attalus, in lacking a gutter behind the sima, in having a very slight slope on top (3 in 70), and in being cut behind for an earth pavement, as if they formed the edge of a terrace. This terrace, however, was not the roof of a Neronian proscenium, but the roof of the stoa of Eumenes.

[3] A. Müller, *Bühnenalterthümer*, p. 88, note 2. Von Schöffer, without giving evidence, places him between 222/3 and 235/6 A.D. (Pauly-Wissowa, II, 597), an impossibly early date.

[4] *I.G.* III, 437; *Museum Marbles*, IX, pl. 43, Fig. 1, pp. 193–194.

three great buttresses[1] in the western part of the stoa of Eumenes, presumably erected after the colonnades and roof had been removed.

Even if we cannot establish the exact date of the destruction of the monument of Nicias, the relative chronology of a group of late constructions which are practically contemporary will help to determine it: (1) the destruction of the stoa of Eumenes and the monument of Nicias, (2) the reconstruction of the Beulé Gate, (3) the reconstruction of the stage of the theatre by Phaedrus, and (4) the erection of the buttresses against the back wall (then rebuilt) of the stoa of Eumenes.

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ATHENS.

P.S. — The sima which I tentatively assigned to the Nicias monument must now be discarded. Another fragment of the same type, now in the theatre of Dionysus, has a joint at the left end and a portion of a lion-head spout, and is therefore a flank sima; the edge of the lion head is 0.205 m. from the joint. According to the scale, the width of the lion head must have been about 16 cm., and this would make the length of the block about 57 cm., too great to fit the mutule spacing (0.523 m.) of the Nicias monument. The fragment first known, 39 cm. long, without a trace of either joint or lion head, seems to be a raking sima from a gable.

In a recent article entitled 'Zu den Bauwerken Athens' (*Ath. Mitt.* XXXVI, 1911, pp. 39–72), Professor Dörpfeld discusses, among other buildings, the monument of Nicias. He notes that the capital identified by Versakes had previously been assigned by Penrose to the upper tier of columns inside the Parthenon (*Ath. Mitt.* 1911, p. 62). It must be admitted that its present position, east of the Parthenon, would be more natural for a portion of the Parthenon itself than for a fragment of the monument of Nicias. But this capital has a lewis hole for lifting, unlike any capitals of the Parthenon, a mode which did not appear, except in unusual cases, until the fourth century. Again, it has twenty channels, and it is unlikely that, when the columns of the lower tier inside the Parthenon,

[1] Only two now remain.

to be more in scale with the external order, had only sixteen channels (Penrose, *Athenian Architecture*[2], p. 9), the still smaller columns of the upper tier should have had twenty. I see no reason, therefore, to reject the original identification by Versakes.

When Professor Dörpfeld wrote, I believed that, on account of the arrangement of the tympanum antithemata, the central tympanum block identified by Versakes did not belong to the monument (*Ath. Mitt.* 1911, p. 64); subsequent investigation caused me to decide otherwise, as I have said above.

Dörpfeld accepts my identification of the foundations and admits that, because of their location beside the precinct of Dionysus, Furtwängler's suggestion of a confusion of the earlier with the later Nicias by Plutarch is somewhat more plausible. He prefers, however, his original theory, that the elder Nicias actually built a temple, the second temple of Dionysus (*Ath. Mitt.* 1911, pp. 66–67).

Finally, Dörpfeld now believes, as I do also, that the workmanship of the Beulé Gate is too poor for the second century A.D., and must date from late Roman or even Byzantine times.

W. B. D.

ATHENS,
November, 1910.